

1777 HIS 21.
HIGHNES
SPEECH

TO THE
PARLIAMENT
IN THE

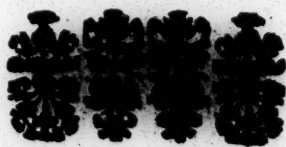
PAINTED CHAMBER,

AT THEIR

DISSOLUTION.

Upon Monday the 22^d of January, 1654.

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*His HIGHNES SPEECH to the
Parliament in the Painted Chamber, at
their Dissolution, upon Monday, Jan. 22. 1654.*

Gentle Men,



Perceive, you are here as the *House of Parliament*, by your Speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are in a great measure known to me.

When I first met you in this Room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of this World: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with myself) the hopes and the happiness of (though not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the World; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a People that have the highest and the clearest profession among them, of the greatest glory (to wit) Religion; as a people that have been like other Nations, some times up, and some times down, in our honour in the World, but yet never so low, but we might measure with other Nations; and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all Our former Glory and Honour, in the things that are of Glory to Nations, in an Epitomic, within these ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And (if I be not very much mistaken) we were arrived (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others did think) at a very safe Port, where we might sit down, and contemplate the dispensations of God, and Our mercies, and might know Our mercies not to have been like to those of the Antients, who did make out their Peace and Prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as We, That all Ours were let down to Us from God himself, whose

Appearances and Providences amongst Us, are not to be out-matched by any Story.

Truly this was our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was commanded, in that most excellent *Psal*m of *David*, *Psal.* 78. v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *The things which we have heard & known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works which he hath done; for he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his Commandments.*

This I thought had been a Song and a Work worthy of *England*, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had hearts unto it.

You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you; And if a History shall be written of these times, and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) but that these things that I have spoken are true.

This Talent was put into your hands, and I shall recur to that which I said at the first, I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this Place: But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purposed to have plaid the Oratour, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easie suppositions, which I am perswaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here, and I confess at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a totall frustration, I confess that that which dampt my hopes, so soon, was somewhat that did look like a *Paricide*. It is obvious enough unto you, that the management of Affairs did favor of a *not-owning*, too too much favor I say of a *not-owning* the *Authority* that called you hither; but God left us not without an Expedient that gave a second Possibility, shall I say, a Possibility? it seemed to Me a Probability of recovering out of that *Dis-satisfied Condition* We were all then in, towards some mutuality of *Satisfaction*, and therefore by that *Recognition*,

*nit*ion, suiting with the *Indenture* that returned you hither, to which afterwards also was added your own Declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of, that Expedient, whereby you had (though with a little check) another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy, as it could have been, if every thing had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting.

And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a Souldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy Successes.

And I did not at all *despond*, but the *Stop* put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that that *Interruption* being as I thought, necessary to divert you from destructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better Deliberations; whereby, leaving the *Government* as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome *Laws* which the People expected from you, and might have answered the *Grievances*, and *settled* those other things proper to you as a *Parliament*, and for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you.

What hath hapned since that time, I have not taken publique notice of, as declining to intrench upon *Parliament Priviledges*: For sure I am, you will all bear me witnesse, that from your entring into the House upon the *Recognition*, to this very day, you have had no manner of *Interruption* or *Hindrance* of mine, in proceeding to that blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself, to this very day.

You see you have me very much lockt up as to what you transacted among yourselves from that time to this, but some thing I shall take liberty to speak of to you. As I may not take notice what you have been doing, so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you, that I do not know what you have been *doing*, I do not know whether you have been alive or dead, I have not once *Heard* from you in all this time, I have not, and that you all know: If that be a fault, that I have not, surely it hath not been mine.

If I have had any *Melancholy thoughts*, and have sate down by them, why might it not have been very lawfull to me, to think that I was a *Person* judged *Unconcerned* in all these businesses? I can assure you, I have not reckoned my self, nor did I reckon my self

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Unconcerned in you, and so long as any *just patience* could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issues of your *Consultations* and *Resolutions*; I have been carefull of your *Safety*, and the *Safety* of those that you represented, to whom I reckon my self a Servant.

But what *Messages* have I disturbed you withall? What *injury* or *Indignity* hath been done or offered, either to your Persons or to any Priviledges of *Parliament*, since you sate? I looked at my self, as strictly obliged by my *Oath* since your *Recognizing* the *Government*, in the Authority of which you were called hither, and sate, to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any *Unparliamentary Interruption*.

Think you I could say no more upon this subject, if I listed to expaciate thereupon? but because my Actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this.

I say, I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your Priviledges (as I said before) that they might not be *Interrupted*; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a *Blessing* upon you, and a *Blessing* upon these Nations; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in any thing promote, in my Place, the reall good of this *Parliament*, of the hopefulnesse of which I have said so much unto you.

And I did think it to be my business, rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, then unseasonably to intermeddle with you. But as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the Peace and Quiet of the Nations, indeed I have, and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you.

And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat that I fear, I fear will be through some interpretation a little too justly put upon you, whilst you have been imployed as you have been (and in all that time expressed in the *Government*, in that *Government*, I say, in that *Government*) brought forth nothing that you your selves say can be taken notice of without *infringement* of your *Priviledges*.

I will tell you somewhat, that (if it be not News to you) I wish you had taken very serious consideration of; If it be *News*, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner: And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already, because I did make it my business to give you no *Interruption*.

There be some *Trees* that will not grow under the *shadow* of other *Trees*;

Trees; There be some that chuse (a man may say so by way of allusion) to thrive under the *shadow* of other *Trees*: I will tell you what hath *thriven*, I will not say, what you have cherished under your *shadow*, that were too hard. In stead of the *Peace* and *Settlement*, in stead of *Mercy* and *Truth*, being brought together, *Righteousnesse* and *Peace* kissing each other, by reconciling the honest People of these Nations, and settling the wofull Distempers that are amongst us, (which had been glorious things, and worthy of *Christians* to have proposed) *Weeds* and *Nettles*, *Briars* and *Thorns*, have *thriven* under your *shadow*, dis-settlement and division, discontent and dis-satisfaction, together with reall dangers to the whole, has been more multiplyed within these *five Moneths* of your sitting, then in some Years before.

Fundations have been also laid for the future renewing the *Troubles* of these Nations, by all the Enemies of it Abroad and at Home; Let not these words, seem too sharp, for they are true, as any *Mathematicall Demonstrations* are or can be; I say, the Enemies of the Peace of these Nations Abroad and at Home, the discontented humors throughout these Nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to *Briars* and *Thorns*, they have nourished themselves under your *shadow*.

And that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from your Sitting, from the hopes they had, which with easie conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no Settlement, and therefore they have framed their Designs, preparing for the Execution of them accordingly.

Now whether (which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf) they had any occasion ministred for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scurtiny or search, but I will say this, I think they had them not from me, I am sure they had not; from whence they had it is not my business now to discourse, but that they had, is obvious to every mans sense.

What preparations they have made to execute in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from, that I know (not as men know things by conjecture, but) by certain demonstrable knowledge, that they have been (for some time past) furnishing themselves with Arms, nothing doubting, but that they should have a Day for it; and verily believing, that whatsoever their former Disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from

from our Divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I do not, and I desire to be understood so, that in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my minde to mingle things of *Guess* and *Suspicion*, with things of *Fact*, but the things I am telling, are of *Fact*, things of evident demonstration.

These *Weeds*, *Briars* and *Thorns*, they have been preparing, and have brought their Designs to some maturity; by the advantages givent to them, as aforesaid, from your Sitting and Proceedings; but by the *making eye* that watched over that *Cause* that God will bless, they have been, and yet are Disappointed. And having mentioned that *Cause*, I say, that *sighted Cause*, Let me speak a few words in behalf thereof (though it may seem too long a digression) Whosoever despiseth it, and will say it is *Non Causa pro Causa*, the all-searching Eye before mentioned will finde out that Man, and will judge him as one that regardeth not the Works of God, nor the Operation of his hands, for which God hath threatned that he will cast Men down, and not build them up; that because he can dispute, and tell us, He knew not where the *Cause* begun, nor where it is, but moddelleth it according to his own intellect, and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World, therefore he lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all his Providences, laughing at the observations made up not without *Reason* and the *Scriptures*, but by the quickning and teaching *Spirit*, which gives life to the other, calling such observations Eathusiasms. Such men, I say, no wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken by the things of which they are so maliciously and wilfully ignorant. The *Scriptures* say, The *Rod* has a voice, and he will make himself known, by the judgements which he executeth; and do we not think he will, and does, by the providences of Mercy and Kindness which he hath for his People, and for their just Liberties, *whom he loves as the Aple of his eye*? Doth he not by them manifest himself? And is he not thereby also seen, giving *Kingdoms* for them, giving Men for them, and People for their lives? as it is in the 43. of *Isaiah*. Is not this as fair a Lecture, and as clear speaking, as any thing our dark Reason left to the Letter of the *Scriptures* can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on the behalf of his People, by Judging their Enemies in the late War, and restoring them a Liberty to worship with the freedom of their Consciences, and freedom in their Estates and Persons when they do so.

And

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And thus we have found the Cause of God by the Works of God, which are the Testimony of God, upon which Rock, whosoever Splits shall suffer shipwrack.

But it is our Glory, and it is Mine, if I have any in the World, concerning the Interest of those that have an Interest in a better World; It is my Glory, that I know a Cause, which yet we have not lost, but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our Lives than lose. But you will excuse this long digression.

I say unto you, whilst you have bin in the midst of these *Transactions*, that *Party*, that *Cavaleer Party*, (I could wish some of them had thrust in here to have heard what I say) the *Cavaleer Party* have bin Designing and Preparing to put this Nation in blood again with a witnesse; but because I am confident there are none of that Sort here, therefore I shall say the lesse to that; onely this I must tell you, they have been making great Preparations of Arms, and, I do beleieve, will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of Arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers Moneths last past.

But it will be said, May we not arm our selves for the Defence of our Houses? will any body finde fault for that? No, for that, the reason of their doing so hath been as explicite, and under as cleer proof, as the fact of doing so, for which I hope, by the Justice of the Land, some will, in the face of the Nation, Answer it with their lives, and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.

Banks of Money have been framing for these, and other such like uses; Letters have been issued, with *Privy Seals*, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the advance of Moneys, which have been Discovered to Us by the Persons themselves; Commissions for *Regiments of Horse and Foot*, and Command of *Castles*, have been likewise given from *Charles Stuart*, since your Sitting; and what the generall insolencies of that Party have been, the honest people have been sensible of, and can very well testifie.

It hath not been only thus; but as in a *Quinzey* or *Plurisie*, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, it will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole, and it is naturall to do so, till it destroy nature, in that *Person* on whomsoever this befalls.

So likewise will those Diseases take accidentall Causes of aggravation of their distemper; and this was that which I did assert, that they have taken Accidentall Causes, for the growing and encreasing of those Distempers, as much as would have been in the naturall body, if timely remedy were not applyed. And indeed, things were come to that passe (in respect of which I shall give you a particular account) that no mortall *Physician*, if the *Great Physician* had not stept in, could have cured the Distemper.

Shall I lay this upon your Account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon Gods Account, that if he had not stept in, the disease had been mortall and destructive; and what is all this? Truly I must needs say, a company of men still, like *Briars* and *Thorns*, and worse, if worse can be, of another sort than those before mentioned to you, have been, and yet are, endeavouring to put Us into Blood, and into Confusion, more desperate and dangerous Confusion then *England* ever yet saw.

And I must say, as when *Gideon* commanded his Son to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and slay them, they thought it more noble to dy by the hand of a Man, then of a *Stripling*; which shews, there is some contentment in the Hand by which a Man falls: so it is some satisfaction, if a *Common-wealth* must perish, that it perish by Men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from Beasts: That, if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from *rich men*, than from *poor men*, who as *Solomon* sayes, *When they oppresse, they leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain.*

Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, what have they done? I hope, though they pretend *Commonwealths interest*, they have had no encouragement from you, but that as before, rather taken it, than that you have administred any Cause unto them for so doing, from *Delaies*, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from *Pamphlets*, mentioning strange *Votes* and *Resolves* of yours, which I hope did abuse you. Thus you see, what ever the Grounds were, these have been the Effects. And thus I have laid these things before you, and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

And what have these men done? they have also laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the *honest meaning* people of the Nation, they have laboured to engage some in the Army: and I doubt, that not only they, but some others also very well known

to You, have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the Army; they have, they have; I would be loath to say, *who, where,* and *how,* much more loath to say, they were any of your own Number, but I can say, Endeavors have been to put the Army into a Dis-temper, and to Feed that which is the worst humour in the Army, which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took their advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the Practices before mentioned, and stopping the Pay of the Army, to run Us into Free Quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniencies most to be feared and avoided.

What if I am able to make it appear in *Fact*, That some amongst you have run into the City of *London* to perswade to *Petitions* and *Addresses* to you for reverling your own *Votes* that you have passed? whether these practices were in favor of your *Liberties*, or tended to beget hopes of *Peace* and *Settlement* from you, and whether *debauching* the Army in *England*, as is before expressed, and *starving* it, and putting it upon *free Quarter*, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in *Scotland* to march into *England*, leaving the remainder thereof to have their *Throats cut* there, and kindling by the rest a *Fire* in our own *bosoms*, were for the advantage of Affairs here, Let the World judge?

This I tell you also, that the correspondency held with the Interest of the *Cavaliers*, by that Party of men, called *Levellers*, and who call themselves *Commonwealths-men*, whose *Declarations* were framed to that purpose, and ready to be *published* at the time of their *Common-rising*, whereof *We* are possessed, and for which *We* have the *Confession* of themselves, now in custody, who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the *Parliaments* not agreeing a *Settlement*; Whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your *Boughs*, is the subject of my present discourse, and I think I say not amiss if I affirm it to be so.

And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise *Disturbance*, hath been by the loss of those *Golden opportunities*, that God hath put into your hands for *Settlement*. Judge you whether these things were thus or no, when you first sat down, I am sure things were not thus, there was a very great *Peace* and sedatenesse throughout these *Nations*, and great expectations of a happy *Settlement*, which I remembered to you at the beginning of my Speech, and hoped that you would have entered upon your business as you found it.

There was a GOVERNMENT in the possession of the People, I say a GOVERNMENT in the possession of the People, for many Moneths, it hath now been exercised neer fifteteen Moneths; and if it were needfull that I should tell you, how it came into their Possession, and how willingly they received it; How all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; How it was owned by God, as being the Dispensation of his Providence, after twelve years War, and sealed and Witnessed unto by the People, I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech made unto you in this Place, and therefore I forbear.

When you were entered upon this GOVERNMENT, raveling into it (you know I took no notice what you were doing) if you had gone upon that foot of Account, To have made such good and wholesome Provisions for the good of the People of these Nations, for the Settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given Countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet would have given a just liberty to Godly men of different Judgments, men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the Form of Baptism, who are found in the faith, onely may perhaps be different in Judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians, both looking at Salvation, onely by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, having recourse to the Name of God, as to a strong Tower; I say might have had opportunity to have settled Peace and Quietnesse amongst all professing Godlinesse, and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all Judgments from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being over-run by a Common Enemy, rendered them, and these Nations, both secure, happy, and well satisfied.

Are the things done? or any thing towards them? Are there not yet upon the spirits of men: a strange iteh? nothing I will satisfie them, unlesse they can put their finger upon their Brethrens Consciences, to pinch them there. To do this, was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary; for Religion was not the thing at the first contested for; but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it in to Us by way of Redundancie: and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that Liberty from the Tyranny of the Bishops, to all Species of Protestants, to worship God according to their

their own *Light* and *Consciences* ? for want of which, many of our *Brethren* forsook their *Native Countries*, to seek their *Bread* from *Strangers* and to live in *Howling Wildernes* ; and for which also, many that remained here, were *imprisoned*, and otherwise *abused*, and made the scorn of the *Nation*.

Those that were *sound in the Faith*, how proper was it for them to labour for *Liberty*, for a just *Liberty*, that men should not be trampled upon for their *Consciences* ? had not they laboured but lately under the weight of *Persecutions*, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others ? is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it ? what greater Hypocrisie, than for those who were oppressed by the *Bishops*, to become the greatest *Oppressors* themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed ? I could wish that they who call for *Liberty* now also, had not too much of that *Spirit*, if the power were in their hands.

As for *Prophane Persons*, *Blasphemers*, such as preach *Sedition*, the *Contentious Raisers*, *Evil Speakers*, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose *Conversations*, punishment from the *Civil Magistrate* ought to meet with them, because, if these pretend *Conscience*, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the *Gospel*, and even to *naturall light*, they are judged of all, and their *Sins* being open, makes them subjects of the *Magistrates Sword*, who ought not to bear it in vain.

The *Discipline* of the *Army* was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such *Practices* as these : and therefore how happy would *England* have been, and You, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have *discountenanced* such practices as the other, and left men in *disputable things* free to their own *Consciences*, which was well provided for by the *Government*, and Liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil.

Judge you, whether the *contesting* for things that were provided for by this *Government* hath been *Profitable* expence of time for the good of these *Nations* ? by means whereof, you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing.

I will say this to you in behalf of the long *Parliament*, that had such an *Expedient* as this *Government* been proposed to them, and that they could have seen the *Cause of God* thus provided for, and had

had by debates been enlightned in the grounds by which the *Difficulties* might have been cleared, and the reason of the whole informed, the circumstances of *Time* and *Persons*, with the *Temper* and *Disposition* of the *People*, and *Affairs* both *Abroad* and at *Home*, when it was undertaken, well weighed, (as well as they were thought to love their Seats) I think in my conscience that they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done, and not have exposed things to those *Difficulties* and *Hazards* they now are at, nor given occasion to leave the *People* so *dis-settled* as now they are, who I dare say, in the soberest, and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a *Questioning*, but a *Doing* things in pursuance of the *Government*, and if I be not mis-informed, very many of you came up with this *Satisfaction*, having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say, such an *Expedient* as this *Government* is, wherein I dare assert there is a just *Liberty* to the *People* of God, and the *Just Rights* of the *People* in these *Nations* provided for, I can put issue thereof upon the *Clearest Reason*, whatsoever any go about to suggest to the *Contrary*.

But this not being the time and place of such an *Averment*, for satisfaction sake herein, enough is said in a Book, entituled, *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*. &c. published in *January* 1653. (And for my self, I desire not to keep it an hour longer than I may preserve *England* in its *Just Rights*, and may *Protect* the *People* of God in such a just *Liberty* of their *Consciences*, as I have already mentioned) And therefore if this *Parliament* have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, it had been huge *Friendliness* between persons that had such a *Reciprocation*, and in so great *Concernments* to the publique for them to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay, of which I never yet had a word from you. But if instead thereof, your time has been spent in *Setting up* somewhat else upon another *bottom* than this stands, that looks as if a laying grounds of a *Quarrel* had rather been designed, than to give the *People* *Settlement*; if it be thus, its well your *Labours* have not arrived to any maturity at all.

This *Government* called you hither, the *Constitution* whereof being so limited, *A single Person* and *a Parliament*, and this was thought most agreeable to the *Generall sense* of the *Nation*, having had experience enough by tryall of other *Conclusions*, judging this
most

most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, and yet not to found *Dominium in gratia*. And if so, then certainly to make it more than a Nation, it was requisite that it should be as it is in the *Government*, which puts it upon a true and equall Ballance. It has been already submitted to the Judicious honest People of this Nation, whether the Ballance be not equall, and what their Judgement is, is Visible by Submission to it, by Acting upon it, by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it; and it neither asks nor needs any better ratification. But when Trustees in Parliament shall by Experience finde any evil in any parts of the *Government*, referred by the *Government* it self to the Consideration of the *Protector* and *Parliament* (of which time it self will be the best Discoverer) how can it be reasonably imagined, that a Person or Persons coming in by Election, and standing under such Obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by *Oath* to *Govern*, for the Peoples good, and to make their love, under God, the best under-propping, and his best interest to him, how can it, I say be imagined, that the present or succeeding *Protectors* will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the *Government*, that may be found to be for the good of the People, or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced casts the Ballance too much to the single Person? And although for the present, the keeping up, and having in His Power the *Militia* seems the most heard, yet if it should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this *Cause* by it (which is most evident at this time impugned by all the Enemies of it) as there was to get it, what would become of all? or if it should not be equally placed in Him and the Parliament, but yielded up at any time, it determines his Power, either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves, or from imposing what Religions they please on the Consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation, thereby subjecting us to Dis-settlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof; and if the Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their Charge be taken off, and their Forces be disbanded, and then where will the danger be to have the *Militia* thus stated?

What if I should say, If there be a dis-proportion or dis-equality as to the power, it is on the other hand, and if this be so, wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What Demonstrations have you held.

held forth to settle Me to your opinion? would you had made me so happy as to let me have known your *Grounds*. I have made a free and ingenuous Confession of my Faith to you, and I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordiall debates might have been towards mutuall Conviction; was there none among you to move such a thing? no fitnesse to listen to it? no desire of right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town talk, such things have been proposed, and rejected, with stiffness and levity, once and again; was it not likely to have been more advantagious to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for My self, and to that I have my Conscience as a thousand Witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it, and I have the Witnesse of Diverse here, that I think truly scorn to own Me in a Ly, that I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the Foundation on which it stands, viz. *The acceptation and consent of the People*.

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing in all this Time, or do I love to make Conjectures, but I must tell you this, That as I undertook this *Government* in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest which in my Conscience is dear to many of you (though it is not alwaies understood what God in his Wisdom may hide from Us, as to Peace and Settlement) So I can say, that no particular Interest, either of my *Self*, *Estate*, *Honour*, or *Family*, are, or have been prevalent with me to this Undertaking.

For if you had upon the old Government offered to me this one, this one thing, I speak, as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant Judgement, well known to many that hear me speak, if this one thing had been inserted, that one thing, that this *Government* should have been, and placed in my Family *Hereditary*, I would have rejected it, and I could have done no other, according to my present Conscience and Light; I will tell you my Reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with Me, nor You, nor the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to Us.

This hath been my Principle, and I liked it when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it put Us off that *Hereditary* way, well looking, that as God had declared what Govern-

ment he had delivered over to the *Jews*, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumentall for the *Conduct* and *Deliverance* of his People; And considering that promise in *Isaiab*, That God would give *Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning*, I did not know, but that God might begin, and though at present with a most unworthy *Person*, yet as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my Judgement against making it *Hereditary*, to have men chosen for their *Love to God*, and to *Truth*, and *Justice*, and not to have it *Hereditary*; for as it is in *Ecclesiastes*, *Who knoweth whether he may beget a Fool or Wife*, honest or not, what ever they be must come in upon that account, because the *Government* is made a *Patrimony*.

And this I do perhaps declare with too much Earnestnesse, as being my own *Concernment*, and know not what Place it may have in your *Hearts*, and of the good People in the Nation, but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainnesse.

I have thus told you my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoycing that I am kept in my speaking; especially when I do not form or frame things without the compasse of *Integrity*, and *Honesty*, that my own *Conscience* gives me not the *Ly* to what I say, and then in what I say, I can rejoyce.

Now to speak a word or two to you, Of that I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you, and though I have told you, that I came with joy the first time, with some regrate the second, that now I speak with most regret of all.

I look upon you, as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for, I could through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you; So far am I from having an unkind or un-Christian heart towards you, in your particular capacities.

I have that indeed as a work most incumbent upon Me, I consulted what might be My Duty in such a Day as this, casting up all Considerations. I must confesse, as I told you, that I did think *Occasionally* this Nation hath suffered extremely in the respects mentioned,

as also in the Disappointments of their Expectations of that Justice that was due to them by your Sitting thus long; and what have you brought forth?

I did not, nor cannot apprehend what it is, (I would be loath to call it a *Fate*, that were too *Paganish* a Word) but there is something in it, that we have not our Expectations.

I did think also for my self, that I am like to meet with *Difficulties*, and that this Nation will not (as it is fit it should not) be *De-luded* with pretexts of *Necessity* in that great businesse of raising of money, and were it not that I can make some *Dilemma's* upon which to resolve some things of my *Conscience*, *Judgement*, and *Actions*, I should sink at the very Prospect of my Encounters; some of them are generall, some are more speciall, supposing this *Cause* or this *Businesse* must be carried on, either it is of God, or of Man, if it be of Man, I would I had never touched it with a finger; If I had not had a hope fixed in Me that this *Cause*, and this *Business* is of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, he will bear it up. If it be of Man, it will tumble, as every thing that hath been of man, since the World began hath done. And what are all our *Histories*, and other *Traditions* of Actions in former times, but God manifesting himself that he hath *shaken* and *tumbled down*, and *trampled upon* every thing that he hath not *Planted*? and as this is, so the all-wise God deal with it.

If this be of humane Structure, and invention, and it be an old *Plotting* and *Contrivance* to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the *births* of *Providence*, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in *England*, and if he will do Us good, he is able to bear us up; Let the *Difficulties* be whatsoever they will, we shall in his Strength be able to encounter with them. And I blesse God I have been inured to *Difficulties* and I never found God *failing* when I trusted in him; I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you, or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing without *Parliamentary Authority* to raise Money upon this Nation; yet I have another Argument to the good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and have no better *Principle*; whether they prefer the having of their Will, though it be their Destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity; that will excuse me, but I should wrong my native Countrey to suppose this.

For

For I lookt at the People of these Nations, as the Blessing of the Lord, and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so, and they will be so, by reason of that *Immortall seed*, which hath been, and is among them, those regenerated ones in the Land, of severall Judgements, who are all the Flock of Christ, and Lambs of Christ, though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of Spirit, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others; yet they are not so to God, as to Us, he is a God of other Patience, and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his People, and the People being the blessing of God they will not be so angry, but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their reall security to forms, when necessity calls for supplies; had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of *Gospel-Liberty*.

But if any man shall object, It is an easie thing to talk of necessities when men create necessities; would not the *Lord Protector* make himself great, and his Family great? doth not He make these necessities? and then he will come upon the People with this Argument of necessity.

This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgements or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the World, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great Revolutions made necessities; I challenge even all that fear God; And as God hath said, *My glory I will not give unto another*, Let men take heed, and be twice advised, how they call his Revolutions, the things of God, and his working of things from one Period to another. how I say, they call them necessities of mens creation, for by so doing, they do vilifie and lessen works of God, and rob him of his Glory, which he hath said, he *will not give unto another*, nor suffer to be taken from him. We know what God did to *Herod* when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge GOD; And GOD knoweth what he will do with men when they shall call His Revolutions, humane Designs, and so detract from his Glory, when they have not been fore-cast, but sudden Providences in things, whereby Carnall and Worldly men are enraged, and under, and at which many I fear (some good) have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken Fancies; but still they have been the wise disposings of the Almighty, though

Instruments have had their passions and frailties; and I think it is an Honour to GOD to acknowledge the necessities to have been of GODS imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have, when we take our sin in our actings to our selves, and much more safe, than judge things so contingent, as If there were not a GOD that ruled the Earth.

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from Vessel to Vessel, till he poured it into your Lap, when you came first together: I am confident, that it came so into your hands, was not judged by you to be from counterfeited, or feigned necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God, and not for men; I would have any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of time, wherein God hath made these *Revolutions*, and find where they can fix a feigned necessity.

I could recite particulars, if either My strength would serve Me to speak, or yours to hear; if that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man that fell off at any period of time when God had any work to do, that can give God or his Work, at this day, a good word.

It was, say some, the cunning of the *Lord Protector* (I take it to my self) it was the craft of such a man, and his plot that hath brought it about. And, as they say in other Countries, There are five or six cunning men in *England* that have *skill*, they do all these things; O what *Blasphemy* is this! because men *that are without God in the World*, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a written Word sometimes, yet according to it: God hath spoken heretofore in *divers manners*, let him speak as he pleaseth; Hath he not given us *liberty*? nay, is it not our duty to go to the *Law and to the Testimonies*, and there we shall finde that there have been impressions in extraordinary cases, as well without the written Word as with it, and therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted, from Truths generally received, except we will exclude the *Spirit*, without whose concurrence all other Teachings are *ineffectual*; He doth speak to the Hearts and Consciences of men, and leadeth them to his Law
and

and Testimonies, and there he speaks to them, and so gives them double teachings, according to that of *Job*, God speaks once, yet twice; and that of *David*, (God hath spoken once, yet twice have I heard this. Those men that live upon their *Almshouses* and *Sympsonus*, their *Masses* and *Servite-books*, their dead and carnal Worship, notwithstanding they be strangers to God, and the Works of God, and to *spirituall dispensations*. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? We in this Land have been otherwise instructed, even by the *Word*, and *Works*, and *Spirit* of God.

To say that men bring forth these things, when God doth them, judge you if God will bear this. I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this *C A U S E* of God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and falls into the hands of the living God by such Blasphemies as these, according to the 10. of the *Hebrews*, If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin (It was spoken to the Jews, that having professed Christ apostatized from him) what then? nothing but a fearful falling into the hands of the living God.

They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us, and that they have not been the revolutions of Christ himself, upon whose *Shoulders* the *G O V E R N M E N T* is laid, they speak against God, and they fall under his hand without a Mediatour, that is, if we deny the *Spirit* of Jesus Christ the glory of all his works in the world, by which he *Rules Kingdoms*, and doth administer, and is the *Rod* of his strength, we provoke the Mediator; And he may say, I'll leave you to God, I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces, I'll leave thee to fall into Gods hands, thou deniest my Sovereignty and Power committed to me, I'll not intercede nor meditate for thee, thou fallest into the hands of the living God. Therefore whatsoever you may judge me for, and say, This man is cunning, and politick, and subtile, take heed, again I say, how you judge of His revolutions, as the productions of mens inventions.

I may be thought to press too much upon this Theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine; the worldly minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it, and because of this

this, his *Arbism* and *murmurings* at *instruments*; yea, *repining* at *God himself*; and no wonder, considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these 1000. years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us.

There is another *necessity* which you have put upon us, and we have not sought; I appeal to God, Angels and Men, if I shall raise Money according to the Article in the Government which had power to call you hither, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the *G O V E R N - M E N T*, and the *Army* is now upon *Free-Quarter*, and you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it, where is the fault? has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope this was not in your mindes, I am not willing to judge so; but this is the state unto which we are reduced: By the *Designs* of some in the *Army* who are now in *Custody*, it was *designed* to get as many of them as could, through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a Barren Countrey, near Thirry weeks behinde in pay, and upon other specious pretences to march for *England* out of *Scotland*, and in discontent to *seize* their *Generall* there, a faithfull and honest man, that so another might head the Army, and all this opportunity taken from your delayes, whether will this be a thing of feigned *necessity*? What could it signifie but that the Army are in *discontent* already, and wee'l make them live upon *stones*, wee'l make them cast off their *Governours* and *Discipline*? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle my self, and put the fault upon others backs; Whether it hath been for the good of *England* whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending *liberty*, and a many good words, whether it hath been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has, the Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the *Cornish men*, or the *Lincolnshire men* may think, or other Counties, but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of caring for the greatest *Liberties* and privileges (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of that damage, that the not providing against *free-Quarter* hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my Liberty to walk abroad in the Fields, or to take a Journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so, when my *House is on fire*.

I have troubled you with a long *Speech*, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all, that it hath with some: But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my self bound in my duty to God and the People of these Nations, to their *Safety* and *Good* in every respect, I think it my duty to tell you, That it is not for the *Profit* of these Nations, nor for *Common and Publick good*, for you to continue here any longer, and therefore, I do Declare unto you, **THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.**

F I N I S.

NO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.

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